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THE CINCINNATI CONVENTION.

LETTER

FROM

JAMES L. ORR, OF SOUTH CAROLINA,

TO

HON. C. W. DUDLEY,

On the propriety of having the State of South Carolina represented in the Democratic National Convention, to be held in Cincinnati.

ANDERSON, November 23, 1855.

DEAR SIR: I avail myself of this occasion to respond to your letter, inquiring my opinion of the propriety of having South Carolina represented in the National Convention at Cincinnati.

The objects of this convention are two-fold: first, to nominate true and reliable candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency for the canvass of 1856; and second, to lay down a platform of principles, for the maintenance of which the Democratic party are to be pledged.

A convention is merely a method of finding out what the popular opinion is, and giving to it a more conspicuous and imposing expression. It has been steadily and uniformly pursued by the Democracy of all the States (except our own) for fifteen years or more, and the selection of delegates, manner of voting and nominating, has been defined by a usage well understood and acquiesced in, as if regulated by law. Hence, we know that such a convention will assemble in Cincinnati in May next, and that it will nominate Candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency—adopt a platform of principles—and it is nearly certain that the nominees will receive the votes of the Democratic party of every State in the Union. Shall the Democracy of this State send delegates? It is our privilege to be represented there, and at the present time I believe it to be a high and solemn duty to meet our political allies, and to aid, by our presence, and councils, in selecting suitable nominees and constructing a platform, which will secure our rights and uphold the Constitution.

There has never been a time since the convention policy was adopted—if, indeed, there has been such a time since the Government was inaugurated—when the success

of the Democratic party in the electoral college was so vitally important as now. If that party should be defeated in the election before the people, every patriot's mind must be filled with gloomy forebodings of the future. The indications now are, that the opposition to the Democratic party, made up of Know Nothings, Abolitionists, and Fusionists, will run two or more candidates: if the Democracy fail to secure a majority in the electoral college over all elements of opposition, then the election must be made, according to the Constitution, by the House of Representatives. Can we safely trust the election of our rights to that body? The House is now elected, and we know that a decided majority of the House are members of the Know Nothing, Fusion, and Whig parties; and if the election be devolved on them, the Democratic party will be certainly defeated, and perhaps a Fusionist promoted to the Presidency. Are the people of South Carolina so indifferent to their relations to the Federal Government, that they will quietly look on and see such an administration as we have had since the 4th of March, '53—an administration that has faithfully and fearlessly maintained the Constitution in its purity—supplanted by Know Nothingism or Black Republicanism? That is the issue to be decided in the next presidential election, and that, too, in the electoral college; for if we fail there, then we know now with absolute certainty that we must be defeated before the House. Was it, then, ever so important before that the convention should be filled with discreet, patriotic men; that there should be the fullest representation of every man devoted to the Democratic faith, and opposed to Fusion and Know Nothingism; that they should commune freely together, and nominate a candidate who will command the confidence of the entire party;

and that such interchange of opinions may enable them to adopt a sound constitutional platform? Was it ever before so important that an election should be made by the people, without going to the House of Representatives? Can we hesitate to meet the true men of the North, and co-operate with them, when the dust of the fray in many hard-fought battles against Fusionists and Black Republicans is still settled on their garments? They have for more than twelve months been fighting for the Constitution and for the maintenance of your rights. Will you turn from them, with callous and heartless indifference, and twit them of being Abolitionists themselves? Such a policy would not only be the blackest ingratitude, but it would drive off all those national, conservative friends that are now standing by you.

Will we hesitate to meet our friends from our own section there, and aid them in the grave work before them? Or will we haughtily turn from them, and by our conduct, in refusing to mingle with them, by implication, reproach them for infidelity to us and themselves?

But I may be met here with this inquiry: Why do you assume that the Democracy, with a favorite nominee and a sound platform, will be more successful than the party was when the members of the House of Representatives were elected, and from whose action you hope for so little benefit to the South? I reply, that nearly all the non-slaveholding States elected their Congressmen more than twelve months ago, and immediately after the passage of the Kansas and Nebraska act. That act raised a storm of fanaticism which wafted Fusion demagogues into power; the men who voted for it could not reach home in time to canvass their districts as thoroughly as should have been done; they could not discuss before the election the principles of the bill, and show that they were drawn from the Constitution. Fanaticism raged with wild fury at the North. But three of our friends were sustained in the great State of Pennsylvania, and two in Indiana. The fusion of Know Nothingism and Abolitionism swept over the former State by a majority of thirty-five thousand, and over the latter by near twenty thousand. These disasters overtook us one year ago, when members to Congress were elected. Illinois, Michigan, Maine, and New Jersey, were likewise overrun by Fusion.

But how stands the contest now in those States? Pennsylvania, the gallant Keystone State, and the breakwater against the turbulent waves of northern fanaticism, has rallied to the Constitution and the old Democratic banner in her late election for State officers, and has not only beaten back Fusion, but has near fifteen thousand of a popular majority for the Democratic faith, in-

cluding the Nebraska act. Indiana has redeemed her escutcheon from the stain of Black Republicanism, and has given the Democracy a majority of near fifteen thousand in her recent State elections. Many other of the northern States have done equally well; and yet, in the next Congress, if the presidential election is devolved on the House of Representatives, the votes of every northern State (except Iowa, and it will be divided,) will be cast either for Fusion or Know Nothing candidates. The late elections show that there has been a reaction in the North, almost unparalleled in political annals; and it is nearly certain, if the South is true to herself, and sustains with unanimity a constitutional Democrat, that the aid we will receive from some of the northern States will enable us to elect him in the electoral college; but if his election was even more doubtful than I imagine, still it is all important that a vigorous and concerted effort should be made; for I have shown that if we fail in the electoral college, the House will elect a President hostile to our political opinions, if not to our institutions. If it should be Seward, or any other Black Republican, and an effort should be made to carry out their platform, then I see no means whereby the Government itself can be preserved. Such an election must produce disunion, bloodshed, and anarchy. Are we prepared for it? And if yea, will we not be grossly derelict to humanity if we neglect to use all the efforts in our power to avert the catastrophe, so long as we can preserve the Government consistently with our own safety and rights?

Our sister States of the South begin to appreciate the magnitude of the crisis which awaits our section. They perceive that the next convention is to be one of much more than usual importance, and they are preparing for an able and efficient representation there. Our sister, Georgia, has already taken the initiative to secure unity and harmony among the States of the South, on questions of vital importance to us as a section. The Democratic and Anti-Know Nothing party of that State, through Cobb, Toombs, Iverson, Stephens, Warner, Hillier, Bailey, Lamar, Scriven, and many other distinguished sons—former Whigs and Democrats, States Rights and Union men—have taken ground in favor of sending delegates to that convention—have declared the belief that the Democratic party at the North was the only constitutional party—have reiterated the Georgia platform, upon which most of the politicians of this State, as I think, properly stand, and propose to instruct their delegates to insist, at Cincinnati, upon a platform which shall—first, recognise and adopt the principles established in the Kansas-Nebraska act; second, that neither the Missouri compromise, nor any other anti-slavery restriction, shall hereafter be extended over

any territory of the United States; third, the prompt and faithful execution of the fugitive slave law, and its permanent continuance on the statute-book. The last resolution, at the late mass meeting of the party at Milledgeville, addresses us in a language which commends itself to every Democrat in the South:

“Resolved, That the Democratic and Anti-Know Nothing party in all our sister States, and especially of the Southern States, are respectfully and earnestly requested to take the foregoing resolutions into their early consideration, and co-operate with us in the policy and objects intended to be thereby secured.”

Such is their appeal to the South. We have heard much of southern union being necessary to our safety. We now have it in our power, by cordial co-operation with our southern sisters, to secure it—to secure it on such a basis as will permanently preserve our institutions. We can here make our demand, and with a united South, we can offer it to the true men of the North. If we act wisely and present such an ultimatum, I doubt not that thousands, perhaps millions, at the North, will espouse and maintain it; for it is a platform of the Constitution, and there are hosts of conservative men whom I know are prepared to maintain the Constitution of our fathers.

Will we reject it with silent contempt—adhere to our isolation, and stubbornly refuse to fraternize with her, and all the balance of our southern sisters? Who doubts that all the South will be represented there? and can it be said, truthfully, that our voice can be of no avail or weight, when the ultimatum shall be laid down? If we send delegates, who can say that our votes may not secure a reliable nominee and a sound platform? Will the instructions of Georgia to her delegates be more or less potent with the endorsement of all or of only a portion of the South?

If, indeed, fanaticism is in the ascendant in the North, and cannot be overcome, then what initiative step towards a southern Union, for the last resort, can be more effective than to unite all the South on the Georgia platform and instructions? Our influence in counsel and in action will be increased, whenever we show a hearty disposition to harmonize with our sisters in the South. Have we not heretofore kept aloof from their consultations in every instance, save in the Nashville convention?—and that was a movement which did not derive any popularity in the South from being suspected of having originated in South Carolina. Sooner or later we must learn the important truth, that the fate and destiny of the entire South is identical. Isolation will give neither security nor concert. When we meet Virginia and Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi, in consultation, as at Cincinnati, it is the

supremacy of Pharisaism to flippantly denounce such association as either dangerous or degrading. North Carolina, Missouri, Florida, and Texas, will be there represented; and are we too exalted or conceited to meet them at the same council board?

We shall meet there many liberal men from the North; those who in their section have done good service against political abolitionism. When we insist upon our platform with firmness, and they see we only make a demand of our constitutional rights, they will concede it; and when they go home they will prosecute the canvass in good faith, upon the principles enunciated at the convention. Concert among ourselves, with the aid of the conservative men at the North, may enable us to save a constitutional Union; if that cannot be preserved, it will enable us to save ourselves and our institutions. Are we alone to have unoccupied seats, when such grave matters are to be decided by the Cincinnati convention?

Suppose the Democracy of this State should decide not to send delegates, and the other States of the South should follow her example, who would be voted for? Could the party, even at the South, without some concert, which could only be secured by meeting, rally upon the same man? No well-informed person would venture an affirmative answer; what would be the result? The Democratic party would certainly be defeated, and the Know Nothing, or Black Republican party, would as certainly be successful. Our policy, then, would inevitably bring upon us defeat; and if we are to be saved from a Free Soil President, it is only to be done by the party in the other States assembling and making a nomination in which we refuse to participate. Even those who are opposing the sending of the delegates, I doubt not, rejoice in the hope that the other States, despite our impracticable example, will meet and nominate candidates.

But it violates the “time-honored policy of the State,” say the objectors. That may be true, and yet should be of little consequence in deciding our course now. The “divine right of Kings” to rule the people, was consecrated by the lapse of centuries; and if that had been conclusive of the question, our fathers were guilty of a grave offense when they announced the plebeian doctrine, that the people had the right to govern themselves and make their own laws. It may be wise to wear a cloak to-day, and very foolish to-morrow, and yet involve no inconsistency. It is much easier to assert the existence of the practice than to prove its wisdom. We have persisted in it for fifteen years, and have made no converts by precept or example. All the other States in the Union now send delegates to national conventions. There is no party, that I have any knowledge of, or fragment of any party, that opposes that plan of ascertaining the

voice of the party in selecting candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. However wise and defensible our opinions may have been heretofore, we have demonstrated, by fifteen years' experience, that we cannot induce a single one of our confederates to think with us—the number against us being thirty to one. May we not hesitate long before we shall, with self-complacency, say they are all wrong, and we are right? As it is not a matter of conscience—but one simply of expediency—in what manner the voice of the party can be best ascertained in selecting candidates, is it not time that we should adopt their policy and renounce ours? How much longer must we deny ourselves the equal privileges with our co-States in trying to prove to them we are right and they are wrong? If the past is to furnish the data of judging, it may be safely postponed until doomsday. We have converted no single State—nay more, in the broad expanse of this great Republic, I know of only a single prominent man who has renounced his partialities for conventions, and who now opposes them, and that man is Thomas H. Benton.

The long and well-defined usage of the Democratic party gives us the privilege of a voice in nominating candidates, but we have heretofore refused it. I desire to see South Carolina now exercise it. I desire to see our delegates there, controlling, to the extent of their votes and intelligence, the nomination and platform. I am tired, heartily tired, of seeing the delegates of the other States determining whom we shall vote for, unless we have an equal voice in the selection. If we were denied the right of uniting with them, we would complain of it as an unbearable grievance; and yet our voluntary refusal works just as great a practical injury. Since 1840, we have invariably voted for their nominee, and yet, during all that time, have had no agency in determining whom he should be, or what should be the platform. In the future, we shall most likely vote for the nominee; even an objectionable Democrat will be taken as a choice of evils, before a Whig, Know Nothing, or Black Republican, because he will more nearly represent your political opinions than either of them. Our delegation might defeat an objectionable man and secure a good one; in such a contingency, would we have acted justly to the Democratic party of the Union, who have engrained on the statute-book every law to be found there, wherein your rights are protected and your interests advanced? The eight votes which we are entitled to cast, might prove of vast importance to our southern sisters, in adopting a reliable platform. Are we to continue our deference to their nominations when we take no part in their conventions? True dignity requires us to reject the nominee, if we scorn and repudiate the nominating

power. It is time that we should change this usage, which seems to be based more upon caprice than upon practical wisdom. If it has heretofore been wise, it is no longer so. The congressional caucus system was tried and exploded; conventions have been substituted. We may not have approved of the substitute, but we find that it is fastened upon the country by universal acquiescence. Shall we persist in a fruitless opposition to it, at the sacrifice of our privileges in the national convention? It is a mistake to suppose that we are the party conferring a favor in going to the convention; the reverse is true. It is a joint meeting for our common good. So long as we remain in the Union, let us co-operate with our political allies to elect good men and secure wholesome measures. Why this voluntary isolation, in refusing to act with equals? Are we their superiors in wisdom and patriotism; or has the degeneracy of the times left South Carolina no citizen who can be trusted with her rights or honor as a delegate? Are the people apprehensive that their delegates will prove faithless and treacherous? If that be true, then her members in Congress should be recalled, for they too have delicate and important trusts committed to their custody.

Unsatisfactory as a convention is to many, the selection of a candidate by it, who must be accepted or rejected by the votes of the people, is far safer for the Republic than any election by any Congress. It is far easier to corrupt a small body, such as a majority of the House of Representatives, than to corrupt the people. Money, office, position, succession, all may be held out as inducements to the former body; they would be unavailing to the latter. It will be a great national calamity as often as the people fail to elect, and devolve the election on the House of Representatives; and such a calamity will arise at every election, unless by concert, through conventions or otherwise, the votes of the people can be concentrated on some one candidate, representing their opinions.

The people have failed in two cases to make an election, both of which have become important in history. The first was when Jefferson and Burr received an equal number of votes. The contest convulsed the whole Union, and produced the most painful apprehensions in the bosoms of all patriots; and well it might, when we review its history, and learn that Jefferson finally triumphed over Burr by a single vote. The excitement was so great, that it caused the States the next year to assent to the only amendment of the Constitution adopted since the Government went fully into operation.

The other was between Jackson and Adams, in 1824. There had been no concentration of public opinion, by caucus or otherwise, because it was said to be the "era of

good feeling," and several gentlemen were consequently voted for. In the electoral college, Jackson received 99 votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37; neither candidate having received a majority of all the votes cast, there was no election by the people, and it went to the House of Representatives. On the first ballot Mr. Adams was elected. This result produced a public indignation, which has had no parallel, because of the outrage on the popular will, in supplanting General Jackson by John Quincy Adams.

After that, prudent and sagacious men saw the importance of making an election by the people. To accomplish it, party organization on defined principles has been perfected, and conventions are, in the judgment of the people of all the other States, the safest and fairest means of ascertaining and concentrating the popular will. I have shown the importance of perfect union and concert in the Democracy if they expect to triumph in the next election. Will we hazard a defeat by churlishly withholding our counsels from our political associates at the Cincinnati Convention? Will we hazard another outrage on the popular will by carrying the next election into the House? Be not deceived by the opponents of representation, when they tell you that our vote is small, and can be of no service in nominating or voting a platform. Jefferson was elected by a single vote; many of the most important laws have been passed by one vote; the casting vote of the Vice President reduced the tariff in 1846. Your votes will count; your delegates will be kindly received, and their wishes and preferences treated with the most respectful consideration. Instruct them, if you choose, to retire from the convention, if the principles adopted by it are unsound, or if the nominee is unreliable. If you do not choose to instruct them, send prudent, wise, sagacious delegates, and say to them that the Democratic party of South Carolina expects to receive no detriment at their hands.

Be not deterred by Know Nothings or fishy Democrats, who may denounce you for going into the convention—nor by the *per se* disunionists who are anxious to destroy the Government, even without a cause—nor by those men who profess to be Democrats, when spoils of office or public printing are to be distributed by the Federal Government, and who grow intensely local when State spoils or office excite their venal cupidity—nor by men who do not admit themselves to be Democrats, and who are in organizations antagonistic to the Democratic party. None of those have any right to a voice in determining the question whether the Democratic party of the State should be represented at Cincinnati. Only those who admit themselves Democrats should pass upon the question; and if there be only a dozen in a district, I trust that they may determine to have

themselves represented at Cincinnati. Such Democrats as are opposed to sending delegates may refuse to go into the primary assemblies, and they will then not be compromised. If they cannot go in, we have no cause of quarrel with them; they exercise their right in staying out, and we do the same in going in. We do not profess to speak for the State—no party has a right to speak for the State: we speak for that portion of the Democracy who think as we do, that the party should exercise its privilege of sending delegates to Cincinnati.

I have conceded that the policy pursued has heretofore been against conventions; and yet, on a memorable occasion, a convention that assembled at Columbia, in May, 1843, representing every district in the State, the fullest representation of the people in voluntary convention that has been had for many years, very strongly committed itself and the people to the convention system. The delegates in that convention, and the constituencies they represented, were fully committed without qualification, and they committed themselves to an affiliation and fraternization with the Democratic party when it had given much fewer pledges, by their votes in Congress, and otherwise, to the political sentiments which we have most zealously cherished. Since then, the northern Democrats aided us to bring into the Union Texas, a magnificent slave-holding Territory—large enough to make four slave States, and strengthened us more in that peculiar interest than was ever before done by any single act of the Federal Government. Since then they have amended a very imperfect fugitive slave law, passed in 1793, and have given us now a law for the recovery of fugitive slaves, as stringent as the ingenuity of man could devise. Since then they have aided us by their votes in establishing the doctrine of non-intervention with slavery by Congress in the Territories. Since then they have reduced the odious tariff of 1842, and fixed the principle of imposts on the revenue, not the protective basis. Since then they have actually repealed the Missouri restriction, opened the Territories to settlement, and enabled us, if the South will be true to herself, and aid in peopling Kansas, to form another slave State.

In 1843 a man would have been pronounced insane, had he predicted that slavery would be introduced there by the removal of congressional restrictions. Since then they have adopted the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions and Madison's report—the very corner-stone of State rights—as a part of the Democratic platform. They have by their votes in Congress and convention given all these pledges to the Constitution since 1843; and if we could then fraternize with them, what change has transpired that justifies the delegates in that convention at least, in refusing now to fraternize with northern and

southern Democrats? That convention was called to present formally the name of John C. Calhoun for the Presidency; and to provide for having the State represented in the then approaching Democratic Convention. It was presided over by the late Governor Seabrook, assisted by the Hons. J. Bond l'On, J. B. O'Neal, Job Johnston, D. L. Wardlaw, Angus Patterson, and W. F. Colcoek, as vice presidents, and James Simons and B. C. Yancy as secretaries. A committee of twenty-one was appointed to report an address to the people of the United States, and I invite your attention to the distinguished names composing the committee, to wit: T. N. Dawkins, F. W. Pickens, S. W. Trotti, Ker Boyce, R. F. W. Allston, James W. Harrison, H. J. Caughman, J. A. Black, F. H. Elmore, Samuel Porcher, J. S. Brisbane, J. L. Manning, E. G. Palmer, J. J. Chappell, John Douglas, J. M. Felder, R. DeTreville, J. J. Caldwell, Edward Frost, G. W. Dargan, and John McQueen. The address which they reported was *unanimously adopted by the convention*. I make the following brief extract from it:

"We are also *unanimous* in recommending that the general convention of the party should be held in Baltimore, in May, 1844, and that each State should appoint as many delegates as she is entitled to members in the electoral college," &c.

A committee of fifteen was appointed to report a plan for the representation of the people of this State in the general convention. At the head of that committee was General Buchanan, of Fairfield, and the following gentlemen as members: Henry Bailey, F. D. Quash, A. W. Dozier, W. W. Hartlee, B. K. Hennegan, F. Sumter, L. J. Patterson, J. A. Leland, George Douglas, Joel Smith, A. J. Lawton, W. Du Bose, N. L. Griffin, and T. H. Pope. The report they submitted was likewise unanimously adopted by the convention, and from which I make the following extracts:

"Resolved, That this convention concurs with the Democratic Republican party in the States of Maryland, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Louisiana, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Michigan, Alabama, and Mississippi, in the appointment of a general convention of the Democratic Republican party of the United States, to assemble at Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, in May, 1844, and that this convention recommend the fourth Monday in that month as the day of meeting of the said general convention.

"Resolved, That the vote in said general convention should be *per capita*," &c.

"Resolved, That this convention recommend to the people of the several Congressional districts of this State to elect a delegate each to represent them respectively in the said general convention," &c., "and that the delegates of this convention be respect-

ively appointed committees to bring the subject of this resolution to the consideration of the people of their respective districts and parishes at such times as will insure an election of delegates to the general convention on or before the first Monday in April next.

"Resolved, That this convention proceed to elect by ballot two delegates to represent the State at large in the general convention, proposed to be held in May, 1844."

The convention proceeded to a ballot, and actually elected Hons. F. H. Elmore and F. W. Pickens. These gentlemen attended the convention in 1844 as lobby members, and did much service in exciting enthusiasm in Mr. Polk's election. Why they did not take their seats does not appear; certain it is, that the State convention, nor any other subsequently called, ever revoked the authority given them to represent the State.

An executive committee was appointed to carry out the general purposes of the convention, composed of the following gentlemen: J. Bond l'On, Nat. Heyward, Ker Boyce, John S. Ashe, Ed. Frost, James Rose, Henry Bailey, F. H. Elmore, Wm. Aiken, Henry Gourdin, Wm. Du Bose, J. M. Felder, J. L. Manning, W. M. Murray, and M. E. Carn.

These proceedings show conclusively that the delegates in the May convention were in favor of having South Carolina represented at Baltimore. I think I have shown that the Democratic party since has proven, by its recorded acts, that it is now more entitled to our sympathy and affiliation than it was in 1843; and, I inquire, how can those who were for the Baltimore Convention then, consistently oppose sending delegates now to Cincinnati? Did they, by their act then, mean to declare that it was right and proper to go into a convention when Mr. Calhoun's name was to be brought forward for nomination, and wrong at all other times and under all other circumstances? If they did, let them say so, and let us understand if theirs is a devotion to men or principles. No other convention of the party since that time has been held, and if their recorded acts are to form the evidence of their position, the party must be set down as favoring the system.

Mr. Calhoun's great name is appealed to and relied upon as furnishing an insuperable barrier to going into a nominating convention. Soon after the State convention, to which I have just referred, adjourned, Mr. Calhoun was interrogated by a committee in Indiana, "If he would abide the result of a nominating convention, and support the nominee if he was defeated?" He replied, "that he was not a candidate, that his name had been brought forward by his friends, and they must decide that question;" but he adds, "I have, however, no reason to doubt but they will cheerfully abide by the decis-

ion of a convention, fairly called and fairly constituted, that would allow ample time for the full development of public opinion, and would represent, fully, equally, and fairly, the voice of the majority of the party." Does this indicate that he was opposed to going into a convention, or disapproved of that mode of selecting candidates for the Presidency?

I have already stated that a convention is the best means of ascertaining the preferences of the people. The usage is for each State to appoint the delegates in its own way; consequently some appoint by State conventions of the party, and others by districts. When they meet in convention, each State decides for itself whether its vote shall be *per capita*, or whether a majority shall control the entire vote and cast it a unit. This gives the discretion to the States themselves as to the appointment of delegates and the manner of voting. When the votes of all the States in convention have been cast, a bare majority does not make a nomination; that the preference of the party may be unmistakably for the nominee, it requires a vote of two-thirds to effect a nomination. And a delegation dissatisfied with either the nominee or platform, may enter their protest or withdraw, and then no obligation of usage or morals requires them to support either.

The true course for such Democrats in South Carolina as desire to be represented at Cincinnati, in my judgment, is to call meetings of those favorable to the proposition, at the respective court houses, or other public places, early in the Spring, say the first Monday in March, and then appoint delegates to a State convention, to assemble at Columbia on the first Monday in May, and charge that convention with the duty of providing for the representation of the State in Cincinnati. A full and free interchange of opinion, among the friends of the measure may lead to some more acceptable suggestions.

I have given you my opinions frankly on this subject—fearlessly, too, in despite of the fears of timid friends, and the frowns of malignant enemies. I believe it to be the true policy for the State to pursue. If conservative national men at the North are sustained, it will increase our strength and influence with the national Democracy; if they are prostrated, and the South is forced to look to herself alone for safety, it will conciliate the good will and kind feelings of our southern sisters, and give us weight and influence in the grave councils that await us.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant,

JAMES L. ORR.

Hon. C. W. DUDLEY.

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